SDITED BY THOMAS RITCHIE.

of the DAILY, for

to the Future Policy of the Government; delivered in Committee of the Whole of the House of Representations. February 13, 1831.

entlemen who have embarked Among the subjects discussed great question directly connected in its mmediate subject-matter. Before speak-itself, I propose to direct the attention of

to many of the existing taxes, and would i all of them. He moved the previous had friends enough to carry it, and thus bate, and brought the House at once to a

questioned three years since by a com-by the democratic members of the orth Carolina, in relation to the existing



Union.

VOLUME VI.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 9, 1851.

cau enable it to sustain the policy is allowable. By thus diversifying the pursuits of our people, we advance the general interest. No one is advantageous to a country, but it is equally clear that any branch of business which, after being diversifying the pursuits of interest interest. No one is advantageous to a country, but it is equally clear that any branch of business which, after being diversifying the pursuits of the policy is allowable. By thus diversifying the pursuits policy is allowable. By thus diversifying the pursuits policy is allowable. By thus diversifying the pursuits of the pursuits policy is allowable. By thus diversifying the pursuits policy

the world. Were we surrounded by a wan, so a bave our intercourse with the rest of mankind interrupted, we should suffer no serious inconvenience. Every variety of manufacturing industry is rapidly diffusing itself throughout the entire country. North Carolina, for example, is not regarded as a manufacturing State to any extent; yet they assure me that the locomotives for railroads made there are quite equal to any that can be obtained abroad. Of her capacity to produce, however, I shall speak presently.

We have thus, Mr. Chairman, rapidly glanced over the arguments usually resorted to to sustain our tariffs, as far as they have been incidentally protective. Whatever may have been the force of these reasons formerly, they are now entitled to no weight whatever. We may now are now entitled to no weight whatever.

The only issue they are willing to join is, that they do not jostify dismion, and that the government ought not not justify dismion, and that the government ought not be dealers too, with the timous carnesianess, that they will dealer too, with the timous carnesianess, that they will dealer too, with the timous carnesianess, that they will dealer too, with the timous carnesianess, that they will dealer too, with the timous carnesianess, that they will dealer too. Will the timous carnesianess, that they will dealer too will be the benefit at a formace would not be thus benefited. But it will all absores are getting. It is possible that Pennsylvale that Pennsylvale the world will the same cate of wages that the jest on the world will the same cate of wages that the persons it is the world will not only the world of the world will be desired that a radious of a revolution. It is a government acqualty readed he are a steady to the world will be desired that a radious of the world will be desired that a radious of the world will be desired that a radious of the world will be desired that a radious of the world will be desired that a radious of the world will be desired that a radious of the world will not only the world will be a readed to the form that they will be desired that a radious of the world will be desired that a radious of the world will be desired that a radious of the world will be desired that a radious of the world will be desired that a radious of the world will be desired that a radious of the world will be desired that a radious of the world will be desired that the section of the world will be a radious of the world will be a radio

of a few wealthy capitalists. I say a few, for I do not believe that there are a dozen establishments in all the United States that ever have made, or are now disposed to engage in the making of, railroad iron.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Hampros] admitted the other day, in reply to a question put from the other side of the House, that in his own State, and in the immediate vicinity of these works, they were using foreign iron for their railroads. Those engaged in making them, rather than purchase the fomestic article, prefet to pay the duty on the foreign and the cost of importation, amounting logether to fifty seven and a hall per cent. Great Britain takes our cotion free of duty, because by its manufacture she gives employment to a large portion of her population. By imposing high duties on it she might benefit her East India cotton planters, but she has the sagacity to see that by such a proceeding she would lose more than she could possibly gaim. Why should we not imitate her wisdom, and avail ourselves of her cheap production. We are now brought to the Consideration of the third of these grounds, viz: the policy of protecting our manufactures during their infancy. The system of high duties began with the war of 1812, and has been continued by the successive tariff acts down to the present time. During this entire period, with the exception of less than two years immediately preceding the passage of the act of 1842, when the rates went down to 20 per cent. the duties on most of the protected articles have ranged from 30 to more than 100 per cent. In a word, for a period of mearly forty years, our manufactures have enjoyed the advantage of a protection of 30 per cent. and upwards. On they be now fairly regarded as infant establishments? Ought they not now, with the aid of 30 per cent. during the manufacturing interests. For a similar reason sheathing competition of the importation of foreign articles, to be able to sustain themselves? If they cannot, ought we to give additional bounties, in the language of Mr. Webster, in his speech in 1824, "to support a business which will not support itself?"

I almit the soundness of the doctrine of protection this far. If by fostering any species of industry of a reason-able it to sustain itself argainst fair conspetition, the policy is allowable. By thus diversifying the pursuits of our people, we advance the general interest. No one of our people, we advance the general interest. No one of our people, we advance the general interest. No one of our people, we advance the general interest. No one of our people, we advance the general interest. No one of our people, we advance the general interest. No one of our people, we advance the general interest. No one of our people, we advance the general interest. No one of our people, we advance the general interest. No one of our people, we advance the general interest. No one of our people we advance the general interest. No one of our people we advance the general interest. No one of our people we advance the general interest. No one of our people we a that if we will submit to these burdens for a time we shall thereby, after a season, get the domestic at a lower rate than the foreign article can be obtained. This argument is refuted and utterly demolished by the leading positions of the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Hampton)] himself. He says that the main element in the production of iron is the labor bestowed on it. Unless, therefore, his constituents are willing to work at less wages than the English operatives do—that is, at less than 20 or 25 cents a day—they cannot possibly make iron at a lower rate than foreigners can do; but they not only exclaim against this, but it is avowed that they cannot consent to work for less than a dollar per day.

the content of the serious and the serious instances even aluminous approach the product of the argument. If I shall be able to shall have accomplished a part of my shall have accomplished and the new marries of the shall have accomplished and the new marries and the product of my shall have accomplished and the product of my shall have ac

South Carolina, by means or three railroads connecting her with that State. The cotton now produced by her is cheaper, probably, by one cent in the pound, than the same article at Charleston. It is also cheaper at Charleston by three-fourths of a cent than in New England. Our manufacturing establishments, therefore, can obtain the raw material at nearly two cents in the pound cheaper than the New England establishments. Provisions are also only half as dear with us. Labor is likewise one hundred per cent cheaper. In the upper parts of the State the labor of either a free man or a slave, including board, clothing, &c., can be obtained for from \$110 to \$120 per annum. It costs at least twice that sum in New England.

have attacked the institution in the States themselves. The other measures proposed by the abolitionists are comparatively insignificant in their ultimate practical effects. I do not pretend that this exclusion could be claimed as a political victory by the free-soil or abolition party. That party had staked itself on the passage of a positive act of exclusion, viz: the Wilmot Proviso, or Jeffersonian ordinance. After a few weeks discussion, it was driven from this ground, being defeated on a direct youe. It then fell back on what was called the President's plan, to wit: the admission of territories as free States. In this movement, after a long struggle, they were frustrated and foiled by the dilatory motions which the minority resorted to, and which it was seen could and would be indefinitely prolonged. It is true, however, that the measures actually passed did in the end practically give them the exclusion of slavery which they desired. This, however, was owing to the will they hot be more formidable when thus strengthen, chould they be roused to another attack? It is this view of the future which has produced the deep dissatisfaction existing in the South. Our people feel that the outposts have been surrendered to our enemies, and that courage and firmness can alone protect them. Even those among us who have defended or apologized for these

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istence, I do not question; but the period must be longer than that supposed. Before that time has arrived possibly the slaves may, in the opinion of some, disappear in another mode.

But does any man imagine that we shall not acquire additional territory in much less than fifty years? Why, blexico even now seems to be on the eve of falling to pieces. I should not be surprised at any time to hear that the adventurous gold bunters now in California had organized an expedition and seized upon the Mexican provinces immediately south of them. When Texas is filled up by our emigrants, they cannot be prevented from passing the Rio Grande and revolutionizing the neighboring provinces. They are destined to be occupied by our surprised of the peninsula of Yacatan, and perhaps the northern portion of the South American continent. This sate of things will be likely to occur even before our interest requires it. That whether it be desirable or not—there is no power on this continent to prevent it. Mexico is altogether too feeble. This government itself cannot do it. It had as well attempt to curb the waves of the ocean. I say boldly that if the government makes the effort, it will itself perish in the attempt. As soon as we feel the actual want of additional territory, we chall occupy it, either with or without the aid of this government. Our right to take it will be neither better nor worse than that by which we have driven back the original Indian population. Even now we are strong enough to take care of ourselves against any forces that can be brought to bear upon us, and we shall be getting relatively stronger for some time to come. Sir, the returns of the census for the past year will present a condition of things not anticipated by many persons. Within the last en years some two millions of foreigners have arrived in this country. They have almost all become residents of the northern States. They, of themselves, were sufficient to have given the North more than twenty additional members of Congress under the new appo

favorable to this progress because of the numbers engaged in manufacturing, and as servants to the wealthy, who are without domicils, and who are frequently reduced to pauperism.

The next decade will show a large increbse in our southern population. We are now nearly ten millions, and there is no body of people of the same number upon earth better able to defend itself against attack. Slavery, instead of being an element of weakness, is one of positive strength. The amount of force which any nation can keep in the field in time of war depends not merely on the number of its men, but also on the amount of its production. Few countries, if any, can sustain permanently in the field more than one-sixth of their adult male population. We have a population intelligent, enterprising, high-spirited, and brave, and ever ready to embark in military expeditions.

It is due to truth to state, that from the formation of the government down to the present time, in all our wars, the South has, in proportion to its population, sent into the field a larger number of soldiers than the North. Nor have those men in battle, either where the snows of Canada lie, or under the tropical sun of Mexico, exhibited any such want of courage or conduct as to justify this government in branding them as inferior to the men of the northern section, or in depriving them of their proper share of the benefits of the constitution.

Our population is large enough to supply any call that could be made on it for soldiers, and still leave at home a sufficient number of free men capable of bearing arms. Our slave population, too, because it is all constantly employed in labor, produces probably more than the same number of free men in any part of the Union, because a large portion of the free are unemployed during much, if not the whole, of their time. No same man can imagine that we need have serious fears of an attack from either the northern States or any foreign power. When our numbers are swelled to thirty or fifty millions, will we be relatively

"Still free and beautiful, and far Aloof from desolation."